

Message Text

PAGE 01 NATO 05059 01 OF 02 171728Z

42

ACTION ACDA-10

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 ISO-00 ERDA-05 CIAE-00 H-02 INR-07

IO-10 L-03 NSAE-00 OIC-02 OMB-01 PA-01 PM-04 PRS-01

SAJ-01 SAM-01 SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06 TRSE-00 NSC-05 /089 W

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FM USMISSION NATO

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 3591

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INFO USDEL MBFR VIENNA

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S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 2 USNATO 5059

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PARM, NATO, MBFR

SUBJ: MBFR: DEFINITION OF FORCES: SPC MEETING SEPTEMBER 15

REF: A. USNATO 4957 DTG 121720Z SEP. 75

B. USNATO 5006 DTG 151157Z SEP 75

1. THIS MESSAGE TRANSMITS TEXT OF THE PAPER ON DEFINITION OF GROUND FORCES WHICH FRG REP (HOYNCK) INTRODUCED AT SEPTEMBER 15 SPC. THE PAPER IS AN IMPROVED TRANSLATION OF THE VERSION TRANSMITTED IN REF A. IT CONTAINS THE SUGGESTION IN PARA 16 C WHICH APPEARED IN THE EARLIER VERSION RE INCLUSION OF ALL PERSHING PERSONNEL IN AIR FORCES. FRG REP STATED THAT THE RECATEGORIZATION IN PARA 16 C WOULD RESULT IN A FIGURE FOR NATO AIR MANPOWER IN THE NGA OF 187,000, AND A FIGURE FOR WP AIR MANPOWER OF 197,000, I.E. DISPARITY IN AIR MANPOWER OF 10,000, AS OPPOSED TO THE PROPOSED DISPARITY OF 15,000. HE SAID IT MIGHT ENHANCE THE ATTRACTIVENESS OF A COMBINED GROUND/AIR COMMON CEILING TO THE ALLIES, IF THE DISPARITY IN AIR MANPOWER WHICH WAS THEREBY CONTRACTUALIZED WAS AS SMALL AS IN PARA 16 C. HE MADE SECRET

PAGE 02 NATO 05059 01 OF 02 171728Z

NO COMMENT ON RATIONALE, THE QUESTION WE HAD ASKED PRIVATELY (REF B).

2. US REP (BAILES) SAID UK POSITION WAS VERY MUCH LIKE THAT OF

FRG: THAT THE AHG CONTINUE TO MAINTAIN DEFINITION BY UNIFORM;
AND THAT THE AHG TRY TO EXPLOIT WP INTEREST IN REDEFINITION
TO PRESS THEM TO IDENTIFY ANOMALIES AND TO PROVIDE DATA.
WHILE UK ENVISAGES THIS AS INTERIM ALLIED POSITION, UK HAS
NO FINAL VIEWS ON THE LONG RANGE ALLIED POSITION.

3. SPC WILL RETURN TO THIS ISSUE ON THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 18.

4. BEGIN FRG TEXT

SUBJ: DEFINITION OF FORCES

I.

1. FOLLOWING CONTRIBUTION TO THE DISCUSSION OF THE SUBJECT OF
"DEFINITION OF FORCES" IS INTENDED TO RESUME THE DISCUSSION
OF THIS SUBJECT WITHIN THE SPC WITH THE OBJECTIVE OF PROVIDING
THE AHG WITH INSTRUCTIONS AT THE EARLIEST POSSIBLE TIME.
THIS PAPER ATTEMPTS TO SUM UP THE ALTERNATIVES WHICH ARE
ACCEPTABLE TO NATO AND TO PLACE THEM INTO A RELATIONSHIP
WITH THE PROBLEM OF THE COMBINED COMMON CEILING.

2. THE WP RAISED THE SUBJECT OF THE DEFINITION OF FORCES AT THE
LAST INFORMAL MEETINGS OF THE SIXTH ROUND OF NEGOTIATIONS IN
VIENNA. WE SHOULD BE PREPARED FOR THE OTHER SIDE WISHING TO
COME BACK TO THIS SUBJECT IN THE SEVENTH ROUND.

3. THE PAPERS OF THE MBFR WORKING GROUP ON THE SUBJECTS OF
"DEFINITION OF GROUND AND AIR FORCES" (AC/276-D(75)8) AND
"SUB-CEILINGS WITHIN A COMBINED AIR/GROUND COMMON CEILING"
(AC/276-D(75)7) CONTAIN A COMPREHENSIVE ANALYSIS OF THE
PROBLEMS INVOLVED. BOTH THESE DOCUMENTS WILL BE OF GREAT HELP
IN DEALING WITH THE QUESTIONS OF DEFINITION WITHIN THE SPC.

4. THERE IS A CLOSE INTERRELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE PROBLEMS OF
DEFINITION AND THE QUESTION OF THE STRUCTURE OF THE COMBINED
COMMON CEILING. THE MAIN PROBLEM IS THAT ANY REDUCTION OF
THE NUMERICAL DISPARITY BETWEEN THE GROUND FORCES WOULD LEAD
TO AN INCREASE IN THE DISPARITY BETWEEN THE AIR FORCES
PERSONNEL. HOWEVER, THE CODIFICATION OF A SUBSTANTIAL DIS-
SECRET

PAGE 03 NATO 05059 01 OF 02 171728Z

PARITY BETWEEN THE AIR FORCES PERSONNEL IS JUST AS UN-
ACCEPTABLE AS THE CODIFICATION OF THE DISPARITY BETWEEN THE
GROUND FORCES.

5. IT WOULD THEREFORE BE PREFERABLE IF THE EFFORTS TO DEVELOP
A NATO POSITION ON THE COMBINED COMMON CEILING COULD BE
TERMINATED AT THE SAME TIME AS FURTHER DISCUSSION ON THE
QUESTION OF DEFINITION. HOWEVER, IT IS NOT CERTAIN THAT
THE CEILINGS DISCUSSION, WHICH HAS TO BE SYNCHRONIZED WITH
THE DISCUSSION ON OPTION III, CAN BE TERMINATED IN TIME BE-
FORE THE REOPENING OF THE NEGOTIATIONS IN VIENNA. THE
QUESTION THEREFORE ARISES WHETHER GUIDANCE CAN BE DRAFTED FOR
THE QUESTION OF DEFINITION WHICH WOULD ALLOW THE AHG TO

CONCRETIZE THE DISCUSSION OF THIS SUBJECT WITHOUT SETTING ANY PRECEDENT FOR THE PROBLEM OF THE STRUCTURE OF THE COMBINED COMMON CEILING.

II.

ELEMENTS FOR GUIDANCE TO THE AHG

6. THE FOLLOWING IS A SUMMARY OF ELEMENTS FOR GUIDANCE TO THE AHG, LINKED UP WITH TACTICAL CONSIDERATIONS.

7. THE WORKING GROUP PAPER "DEFINITION OF GROUND AND AIR FORCES" PUTS FORWARD THE VIEW THAT IT WOULD BE GREATLY PREFERABLE TO MAINTAIN IN PRINCIPLE THE PRESENT ALLIED APPROACH TO DEFINITION OF FORCES. WE SHARE THIS VIEW. ON THE OTHER HAND, WE ALSO REALIZE THAT A DISCUSSION ON THE QUESTION OF DEFINITION IS UNAVOIDABLE, FOR THE FOLLOWING REASONS:

- THE DISCUSSION OF DEFINITIONS IN VIENNA HAS ALREADY STARTED;
- THIS DISCUSSION WAS ORIGINALLY SUGGESTED BY THE WEST;
- A DEFINITION OF GROUND AND AIR FORCES WILL CERTAINLY BE UNAVOIDABLE IF A COMMON CEILING FOR THE GROUND FORCE PERSONNEL IS MAINTAINED.

8. THE AHG SHOULD THEREFORE CONTINUE THE DISCUSSION ON DEFINITION. HOWEVER, IT WOULD HAVE TO BE MADE ABUNDANTLY CLEAR THAT THIS IS NOT A DISCUSSION WHICH SERVES THE PURPOSE OF REDUCING THE EXISTING DISPARITIES BETWEEN THE MANPOWER OF THE GROUND FORCES OF THE TWO SIDES.

SECRET

PAGE 04 NATO 05059 01 OF 02 171728Z

SECRET

PAGE 01 NATO 05059 02 OF 02 171741Z

42

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S E C R E T SECTION 2 OF 2 USNATO 5059

9. FOR THIS REASON, OUR WILLINGNESS TO ENTER INTO A DISCUSSION ON A DEFINITION OF FORCES AT THE PRESENT TIME SHOULD BE CLEARLY PRESENTED AS A PRAGMATIC STEP DESIGNED TO CREATE THE TECHNICAL CONDITIONS FOR DATA EXCHANGES AS PART OF FUTURE NEGOTIATIONS.

10. THE FIRST ELEMENT FOR THE GUIDANCE TO THE AHG SHOULD BE THAT WE MAINTAIN THE UNIFORM PRINCIPLE IN THE DISCUSSION ON DEFINITION. THIS PRINCIPLE IS BEST SUITED TO ENSURE THAT THE DISCUSSION ON DEFINITION DOES NOT DEGENERATE TO AN UNLIMITED MANIPULATION OF THE CATEGORIES - WHICH WOULD HAVE TO BE FEARED IF A PURELY FUNCTIONAL APPROACH WERE ADOPTED. A NUMBER OF ARGUMENTS USED BY KHLESTOV IN VIENNA ALREADY POINT IN THIS DIRECTION.

11. THE SECOND ELEMENT: THE DISCUSSION ON DEFINITION SHOULD IDENTIFY THE ANOMALIES APPARENTLY EXISTING IN EAST AND WEST. THIS IDENTIFICATION DOES NOT YET CONSTITUTE A DECISION ON THEIR FINAL CATEGORIZATION.

SECRET

PAGE 02 NATO 05059 02 OF 02 171741Z

12. THE THIRD ELEMENT: THE WILLINGNESS TO DISCUSS FORCE DEFINITIONS WITH THE OTHER SIDE DOES NOT MEAN A WILLINGNESS TO AGREE TO A GENERAL EXTENSION OF THE SUBJECT OF THE NEGOTIATIONS - AND ESPECIALLY OF THE REDUCTIONS - TO THE FORCE CATEGORIES IN QUESTION. THIS RESERVATION SHOULD BE MADE UNEQUIVOCALLY CLEAR AND MUST BE ACCEPTED BY THE OTHER SIDE.

13. AFTER IDENTIFYING THE ANOMALIES, OUR SIDE SHOULD MAKE ANOTHER EFFORT TO USE THE DISCUSSION OF DEFINITIONS AS AN OPENER FOR THE DISCUSSION ON DATA. IT SHOULD BE POINTED OUT TO THE WARSAW PACT THAT THE ANOMALIES CANNOT BE ASSESSED UNTIL THE DATA INVOLVED ARE PROJECTED ON TO THE NUMERICAL FORCE LEVELS OF THE GROUND AND AIR FORCES. IT IS THEREFORE NECESSARY THAT THE BASIC DATA ARE DISCUSSED AS A SECOND STEP AND A LOGICAL CONSEQUENCE OF THE DISCUSSION OF ANOMALIES. ONLY THEN WILL IT BE POSSIBLE TO TAKE A DECISION ON THE CATEGORIZATION OF THE ANOMALIES.

III.

ADDITIONAL INFORMATION FOR THE AHG

14. IN ADDITION TO THE ELEMENTS MENTIONED ABOVE GUIDANCE TO THE AHG SHOULD DEAL WITH THE FOLLOWING QUESTIONS:

- A) EXCLUSION OF CIVILIAN PERSONNEL
- B) EXCLUSION OF RESERVES

C) TREATMENT OF NON-MILITARY PERSONNEL WEARING UNIFORM
AND OF THE PARA-MILITARY FORMATIONS

D) NON-PREJUDICIAL TREATMENT OF THE AGREED SUBJECT "FORCES
AND ARMAMENTS" IN CONNECTION WITH THE QUESTION OF DEFINITION.

15. FURTHERMORE IT WOULD BE USEFUL FOR THE AHG IN THE PRESENT
STAGE OF THE DISCUSSION ON DEFINITION TO KNOW AS BACKGROUND
INFORMATION TO WHICH SERVICE WE WOULD LIKE THE ANOMALIES TO
BE ATTRIBUTED. CERTAIN QUESTIONS FROM THE EASTERN SIDE HAVE
ALREADY BEEN ASKED IN THIS RESPECT. THIS CONCERNS THE
CATEGORIZATION OF THE PERSONNEL OF

- AIR DEFENCE
 - HELICOPTERS
 - PERSHING
 - THE CANADIAN FORCES IN THE NGA.
- SECRET

PAGE 03 NATO 05059 02 OF 02 171741Z

THE DECISIONS IN THESE QUESTIONS ARE, OF COURSE, OF MAJOR
IMPORTANCE FOR THE STRUCTURE TO BE GIVEN TO A COMBINED COMMON
CEILING, BECUASE OF THEIR IMPLICATIONS FOR ITS DATA BASE.

16. IN OUR OPINION, NATO WILL HAVE TO CHOOSE BETWEEN THE
FOLLOWING POSSIBILITIES WHICH HAVE BEEN COVERED IN THE
WORKING GROUP PAPERS:

A) MAINTENANCE OF THE PRESENT CATEGORIZATION, I.E. THE
SIMPLE APPLICATION OF THE UNIFORM PRINCIPLE. THE
WORKING GROUP PREFERS THIS POSSIBILITY OVER THE OTHERS.
IT IS UNDOUBTEDLY THE CLEAREST SOLUTION SINCE IT WOULD
ESPECIALLY LEAVE THE APPROXIMATE PARITY BETWEEN THE
AIR FORCE PERSONNEL FIGURES UNCHANGED AND WOULD THUS
FACILITATE CONCENTRATION ON THE GROUND FORCES.

B) CATEGORIZATION ACCORDING TO PRESENT CASE 1 (AC/276-D
(74)8 PARA 1 (A): "EXCLUSION FROM THE WP GROUND FORCES
TO BE ADDRESSED FOR REDUCTION OF: PERSONNEL (41,000)
SERVING IN GROUND ELEMENTS OF CSSR AND POLISH NATIONAL
AIR DEFENCE ORGANIZATIONS. INCLUSION OF THE WP PERSONNEL
(13,000) REGARDED BY NATO AS AIR FORCE PERSONNEL, SERVING
IN HELICOPTER UNITS IN SUPPORT OF GROUND FORCES."): THE
DISPARITY BETWEEN THE GROUND FORCES WOULD BE SLIGHTLY
REDUCED, BUT THE DISPARITY IN AIR FORCE PERSONNEL WOULD
BE SUBSTANTIALLY INCREASED.

C) CATEGORIZATION WHILE APPLYING ELEMENTS OF PRESENT CASE 3
(AC/276-D(74)8 PARA 1 (C): "THE INCLUSION, FOR BOTH WP AND
NATO GROUND FORCES, OF ALL AIR DEFENCE PERSONNEL,
WHETHER ARMY OR AIR FORCE, WHO MAN OR SUPPORT GROUND-TO-
AIR SYSTEMS. THIS WOULD ADD ABOUT 29,000 NATO AIRMEN TO
THE NATO FORCES TO BE ADDRESSED IN REDUCTIONS AND ABOUT
11,000 WP (GDR) AIRMEN TO THE WP FORCES."): THIS WOULD
MEAN THAT THE AIR DEFENCE PERSONNEL ON THE WESTERN SIDE
(29,000 MEN) WOULD BE COUNTED AS PART OF THE GROUND
FORCES. THE SAME WOULD APPLY TO THE AIR DEFENCE PERSONNEL
OF THE GDR. FURTHERMORE ALSO HELICOPTERS AND POSSIBLY

THE PERSHING PERSONNEL COULD BE COUNTED AS PART OF THE
AIR FORCES.

THIS SOLUTION WOULD LEAD TO A NEW DEFINITION WHICH WOULD
NOT NECESSARELY AFFECT THE APPROXIMATE PARITY OF THE
AIR FORCE PERSONNEL. IT WOULD THUS NOT CREATE ANY
ADDITIONAL PROBLEMS FOR A COMBINED COMMON CEILING.

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PAGE 04 NATO 05059 02 OF 02 171741Z

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